

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00025 01 OF 02 131808Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 076651

P R 131730Z FEB 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2944

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0025

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEB 13

(SALT TWO-909)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEB 13.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, FEBRUARY 13, 1976

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO ADDRESS, FIRST OF
ALL, SUCH ARTICLES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT FOR THE
LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AS ARTICLE XII ON
NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND ARTICLE XIII ON NON-TRANSFER, WHICH ARE
OF GREAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

I

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET
UNION HAS CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED THAT THE SIDES ASSUME
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00025 01 OF 02 131808Z

OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH

COULD LEAD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION BEING WEAKENED OR CIRCUMVENTED THROUGH A THIRD STATE OR THIRD STATES, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER. THIS CLEAR AND STRAIGHTFORWARD POSITION OF THE USSR IS EMBODIED IN THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XII OF THE DRAFT UNDER CONSIDERATION.

AS YOU KNOW, THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN STATES OCCUPIES A CENTRAL POSITION IN THE SYSTEM OF NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE SUBJECT OF THE AGREEMENT, THE DRAFT OF WHICH WE ARE PREPARING, IS OF SUCH SIGNIFICANCE IN TERMS OF THE POLICIES OF OUR STATES, AS RECORDED IN SOVIET-AMERICAN DOCUMENTS OF RECENT YEARS, THAT THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE OF ARTICLE XII. NOR HAS ANY SUCH DOUBT BEEN EXPRESSED HERE.

INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT OF WORDING ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION THAT IS PRECISE AND STRICT FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT GUARANTEE FOR ENSURING THE STABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED IN THE AREA OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THE NEED TO BLOCK POSSIBLE WAYS OF WEAKENING OR CIRCUMVENTING THE NEW AGREEMENT THROUGH A THIRD STATE OR THIRD STATES, OR ANY OTHER MANNER, ENSUES FROM THE TASK OF PREVENTING A SITUATION WHICH COULD BE FRAUGHT WITH INCREASING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR. THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, AND SERVES THE BASIC VITAL INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES AND THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE.

IT IS CLEAR THAT A POSITIVE SOLUTION TO THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION QUESTION WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY ENHANCE THE INTERNATIONAL STANDING OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND WOULD CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THE DETERMINATION OF THE SIDES IN THE POLICY OF CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND LIMITING THEM.

II

ANOTHER ARTICLE OF THE DRAFT UNDER CONSIDERATION, WHICH IS NO LESS SIGNIFICANT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ITS POLITICAL IMPORTANCE,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00025 01 OF 02 131808Z

IS ARTICLE XIII ON NON-TRANSFER, PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET UNION.

AS YOU KNOW, THE TEXT OF THE PREAMBLE TO THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT SPECIFIES, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF STRATEGIC STABILITY MEETS THE INTERESTS OF THE SIDES AND THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND UNAMBIGUOUSLY EXPRESSES THE DESIRE OF THE SIDES TO

PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR WITH ITS DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL MANKIND. THESE AND THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE PREAMBLE HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE SIDES.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THESE IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE PREAMBLE, WHICH HAVE ALSO BEEN RECORDED IN SOVIET-AMERICAN DOCUMENTS OF RECENT YEARS, MUST ALSO BE INCORPORATED IN THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

FROM THIS STANDPOINT ARTICLE XIII ALSO OCCUPIES AN EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE DRAFT.

THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO RECORD IN THE NEW AGREEMENT A PROVISION FOR AN OBLIGATION NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES, AND NOT TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT, IN PARTICULAR, BY TRANSFERRING COMPONENTS, TECHNICAL DESCRIPTIONS OR BLUEPRINTS FOR THESE ARMS, HAS BEEN UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE SIDES FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE DELEGATIONS' NEGOTIATIONS ON WORKING OUT THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE VALDIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION, THE USSR DELEGATION ON DECEMBER 9, 1975 TABLED A PROPOSAL THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECT THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XIII OF THE DRAFT REFER TO THE ARMS COVERED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE NECESSITY OF ASSUMING UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT AN OBLIGATION ON NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ENSUES FROM THE COINCIDING INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES, AND FROM THE COURSE THEY HAVE JOINTLY ADOPTED TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMS AND TO REDUCE THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SALT T 00025 01 OF 02 131808Z

WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS PROVISION MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE DRAFT UNDER PREPARATION. CONSEQUENTLY, IT MUST BE RECORDED IN THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00025 02 OF 02 131813Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 076737

P R 131730Z FEB 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2945

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0025

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

III

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE SIDES DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROVISIONS FOR ARTICLE XI, ON BRINGING THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE SIDES INTO CONFORMITY WITH THE ESTABLISHED MAXIMUM AGGREGATE LEVELS, AND ALSO ON MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS PROHIBITED BY THE AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED.

AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD, THE SIDES HAVE ACHIEVED A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF DECEMBER 18, 1975, TO THE EFFECT THAT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE NUMBERS SPECIFIED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS STRATEGIC, MUST BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED.

IN THIS CONNECTION, CONSIDERATIONS WERE EXPRESSED TO THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00025 02 OF 02 131813Z

EFFECT THAT THE TIME BE RECORDED WHEN DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF SUCH ARMS IS TO BEGIN, AND ALSO THAT A REASONABLE AND PRACTICALLY JUSTIFIABLE PERIOD OF TIME BE ESTABLISHED FOR COMPLETING THE ACTIVITIES PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE XI.

DURING THE RECESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS THE SOVIET SIDE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE OF THE DRAFT.

IN THE INTERESTS OF MOVING AHEAD IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE USSR DELEGATION, PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, EXPRESSES ITS READINESS TO ESTABLISH THE DATE OF OCTOBER 3, 1977 AS THE TIME FOR BEGINNING DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE NUMBERS SPECIFIED BY THE AGREEMENT.

THIS OBLIGATION, RECORDED IN THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WOULD BE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AGREED UPON AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL COVER THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 1977 TO DECEMBER 31, 1985. ON THE OTHER HAND, SUCH AN OBLIGATION WOULD ALSO APPROPRIATELY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972 WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER 1977, AS IS CLEAR FROM THE TEXTS OF THE JOINT SOVIET-U.S. STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 24 AND THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

IT ALSO FOLLOWS FROM THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD THAT BOTH SIDES BELIEVE THAT A CERTAIN PERIOD OF TIME IS REQUIRED FOR COMPLETING THE ARMS DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION ACTIVITIES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION ACTIVITIES PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE XI BE COMPLETED WITHIN TEN MONTHS AFTER EXPIRATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OF MAY 26, 1972.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF ARMS AFFECTED BY THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XI WOULD BE CARRIED OUT UNDER PROCEDURES AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. AGREEMENT ON THIS SCORE ALSO COULD BE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00025 02 OF 02 131813Z

RECORDED IN THE TEXT OF ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT UNDER PREPARATION, ESPECIALLY SINCE THERE ALREADY IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IN PRINCIPLE ON THIS SCORE, AS IS CLEAR FROM THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF DECEMBER 18, 1975.

IN MAKING THIS CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT IT WILL ENSURE PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS. JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, NEGOTIATIONS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SALTT00025
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760055-1016
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760250/aaaabrsf.tel
Line Count: 274
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 OCT 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEB 13 (SALT TWO-909)
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, (SEMENOV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006